

## Message Text

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47

ACTION MBFR-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-12 ADP-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-09 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 NEA-10 GAC-01 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11 ACDA-19 OMB-01 RSR-01 /143 W  
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O P 081128 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8374

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

USNMR/ SHAPE

USLOSACLANT

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USDEL SALT TWO II

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T VIENNA 2844

NOFORN

NOFORN

GENEVA FOR DISTO; ALL OTHER MBFR CAPITALS BY POUCH

FROM US REP MBFR

EO: 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: EVALUATION OF PRESENT SITUATION

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: SEPTELS CONTAIN A RECONSTRUCTED TEXT OF SOVIET SECRET

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PROPOSALS OF APRIL 7 ON PARTICIPATION AND PROCEDURES PAPER FOR CON-  
VENIENCE OF ASSESSMENT AND AN ACCOUNT OF QUADRIPARTITE SESSION AT

THAT TIME. APRIL 7 SESSION WITH SOVIET REPS ON HUNGARIAN QUESTION HAS LED BOTH US AND NETHERLANDS REPS TO CONCLUDE THAT THE PRESENT EXPLORATORY PHASE ON THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE IS NEARING AN END. BOTH REPS CONSIDER IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO GET MORE FROM THE SOVIETS ON THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE AT THIS TIME UNLESS NEW ELEMENTS ARE ADDED TO THE SITUATION. THEY INTEND TO BEGIN DRAFTING A REPORT FOR NATO TO THIS EFFECT EARLY IN THE WEEK OF APRIL 8. IF WASHINGTON WISHES FURTHER POINTS TO BE RAISED WITH THE SOVIETS ON THE TEXT AS IT NOW STANDS, GUIDANCE SHOULD BE AVAILABLE BY APRIL 10 IN ORDER TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE. END SUMMARY.

2. THROUGHOUT THE 6- HOUR MARATHON SESSION WITH SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES ON APRIL 7, NETHERLANDS AND US REPS MAINTAINED ALLIED POSITION ON KEEPING HUNGARY IN ABEYANCE AND DID NOT DEPART FROM IT. THEY ALSO PUT FORWARD EACH OF THE PROPOSALS PRODUCED IN THE AD HOC GROUP IN RECENT DAYS AND SPECIFICALLY EACH OF THE PROPOSALS CONTAINED IN STATE 62779 WITH EXCEPTION OF DROPPING NAME LIST OF SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS SINCE THIS DID NOT RECEIVE CLEARANCE IN AD HOC GROUP. WITHOUT DEPARTING FROM AGREED ALLIANCE POSITIONS, THEY ELICITED A COMPREHENSIVE SOVIET POSITION WHICH INCLUDES A NUMBER OF POSITIVE CHANGES FROM EARLIER SOVIET POSITIONS.

3. IT IS THE VIEW OF THE US REP, SHARED BY NETHERLANDS REP, THAT THE ALLIES HAVE CARRIED EXPLORATION IN VIENNA OF THE HUNGARIAN ABEYANCE THEME AS FAR AS IT CAN GO WITHOUT ADDITION OF NEW ELEMENTS INTO THE PICTURE, OR WITHOUT A DECISION THAT INDEFINITE PROTRACTION OF DEBATE OVER HUNGARIAN ISSUE IS ACCEPTABLE. NETHERLANDS REP HAS ASSURED US REP HE WOULD BE GLAD TO MAKE ANOTHER TRY, TO ADD ANY NEW ELEMENTS, OR REPEAT PRESENT POINTS IF WASHINGTON DESIRES. US REP BELIEVES THAT FORMULA DEVELOPED IN RECENT DAYS AS POSSIBLE PART OF ENLARGEMENT FORMULA AND VIGOROUSLY PUSHED BY ALLIED REPS IN APRIL 7 SESSION WITH SOVIETS IS PREFERABLE TO THE PROPOSED EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS WHICH SOVIET REPS HAVE TENTATIVELY APPROVED, BUT IT WAS ADVANCED LATE IN THE GAME AND THERE APPEARS LITTLE PROSPECT OF ITS ACCEPTANCE UNLESS CONSIDERABLE OUTSIDE PRESSURE CAN BE ADDED. EVEN SO, IT WOULD BE MOST DIFFICULT.

4. IF WASHINGTON WISHES ALLIED REPS TO MAKE FURTHER EFFORT WITH THE SOVIETS, TO BE MOST EFFECTIVE, INSTRUCTIONS SHOULD BE AVAILABLE HERE BY 0900 LOCAL TIME APRIL 10 BECAUSE SOVIET REPS INDICATED  
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THEY WILL BE SENDING IN THEIR OWN RECOMMENDATIONS FOR APPROVAL AT A SENIOR LEVEL OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT. IF ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM ARE RAISED ONLY AFTER THIS TAKES PLACE, IT WILL BECOME ALL THE MORE DIFFICULT TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN THE SOVIET POSITION. TO CONTINUE DEBATE IN SHORT TERM SENSE WOULD ENTAIL DELAY IN PRESENTING CONCLUSIVE OUTCOME TO NAC AND ENCOURAGE SOME ALLIES IN BELIEF THAT OUTCOME COULD BE MATERIALLY DIFFERENT THROUGH LIMITED FURTHER INVESTMENT OF TIME.

5. AS MATTERS NOW STAND, ALLIED REPS WILL HOLD FIRM ON THE TEXT OF THEIR PROPOSED STATEMENT IN THE QUADRILATERAL SESSION WITH THE SOVIETS PLANNED FOR APRIL 10, EXCEPT FOR CHANGE IN REFERENCE TO SECURITY TO MAKE IT APPARENT THAT IT IS ALLIES SECURITY INTERESTS WHICH ARE INVOLVED. OTHER MINOR IMPROVEMENTS COULD BE ADVANCED. AS REGARDS FORM, BELIEVE WE SHOULD HOLD OUT FOR EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS TO BE PLACED IN TEXT AS FOOTNOTES OF PARAGRAPH 2.

6. UNLESS WASHINGTON DESIRES US REP TO TAKE A DIFFERENT APPROACH, HE AND NETHERLANDS REP INTEND, FOLLOWING THE MEETING WITH SOVIETS SCHEDULED FOR THE MORNING OF APRIL 10, TO TELL AD HOC GROUP THAT THEY BELIEVE TIME HAS COME TO BEGIN DRAFTING A REPORT TO NAC TO BE FORWARDED BY AD HOC GROUP DURING THE COMING WEEK, PRESENTING THE SOVIET POSITION AS IT APPEARED AT THE END OF THE EXPLORATIONS, TOGETHER WITH THE CONCLUSION THAT IT APPEARS A FINAL ONE. THE REPORT WILL CONTAIN AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SHORTCOMINGS AND ADVANTAGES OF THE EXPLORATION OUTCOME, COMPARING THAT OUTCOME WITH POSITIONS THE SOVIETS HAVE TAKEN DURING THE COURSE OF THE EXPLORATIONS. WE HOPE IT CAN CONTAIN WITH MAJORITY VIEW THAT THE OUTCOME, ALTHOUGH DOUBTLESS A DISAPPOINTMENT TO MANY, DOES SEEM TO PRESERVE THE ESSENTIALS OF THE ALLIED POSITION AS REGARDS THE POSSIBILITY OF RAISING AND EFFECTIVELY PURSUING THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE DURING THE NEGOTIATIONS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME ACHIEVING ALLIED OBJECTIVES OF LIMITING THE CIRCLE OF PARTICIPANTS, SECURING ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUS OF THE ALLIED FLANKS AND OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, CLARIFYING THE STATUS OF ROMANIA AND BULGARIA, AVOIDING A POTENTIALLY DIFFICULT CONTROVERSY OVER THE DESIGNATION OF THE FRG, AS WELL AS ESTABLISHING A CLEAR DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN DIRECT AND SPECIAL PARTICIPANTS AND MAINTAINING A CLEAR FOCUS ON CENTRAL EUROPE.

5. IT MAY BE USEFUL TO PUT THE ISSUE IN PERSPECTIVE. FROM THE OUTSET OF THE TALKS IN VIENNA, SOVIET REPS HAVE INDICATED CONVICTION THAT EXCLUSION OF HUNGARY WOULD BE ACCEPTED BY THE US. LONG  
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NAC DELIBERATIONS DEPRIVED US OF THE INITIATIVE TO PUT THROUGH A MORE NEUTRAL ABEYANCE FORMULA WHICH MIGHT WELL HAVE SUCCEEDED IN THE FIRST PART OF FEB. THE ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES' NEGOTIATING POSITION IN VIENNA HAS BEEN UNDERMINED BY EVIDENT SOVIET KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACT THAT THE US AND OTHER ALLIES HAVE EXPRESSED CLEAR BELIEF DURING NAC SESSIONS THAT AN OUTCOME LISTING HUNGARY AS A SPECIAL PARTICIPANT WAS INEVITABLE, AND BY STATEMENTS TO THE SOVIETS BY BELGIAN, BRITISH AND NETHERLANDS REPS IN VIENNA, AND DOUBTLESS BY OTHER ALLIED REPS ELSEWHERE, TO THE EFFECT THAT THEY WOULD ACCEPT SPECIAL STATUS FOR HUNGARY IF OTHER ALLIED INTERESTS WERE MET. THESE ELEMENTS HAVE MADE THE OVERALL WESTERN POSITION UNTENABLE FROM THE OUTSET.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND THE EVIDENT PERSISTENCE AND EFFORT PUT INTO THE ENTIRE DISCUSSION OF THE HUNGARIAN ISSUE DURING THE PAST TWO MONTHS MAY HAVE BROUGHT MANY ALLIES, AS IT HAS

THE NETHERLANDS REP PERSONALLY, TO SHARE THE LONG- STANDING US CON-  
CLUSION THAT THE ONLY OUTCOME NOW IS HUNGARY AS A SPECIAL PARTICI-  
PANT. WE DO NOT WISH TO OVERRATE THE MERITS OF THE ENLARGEMENT  
FORMULA AND PROPOSED EXCHANGE OF STATEMENTS IN THE FORM IN WHICH  
THEY NOW WOULD APPARENTLY BE ACCEPTED BY THE SOVIETS, BUT VIEWED  
OBJECTIVELY, THEY PROVIDE SPECIFIC EVIDENCE THAT THERE EXISTS A  
CONTINUED AND UNRESOLVED CONFLICT OVER HUNGARY WHICH WILL BE CAR-  
RIED OVER TO THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND SPECIFIC EASTERN ACCEPTANCE  
OF THE FACT THAT THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION WILL BE RAISED THERE. HUMES

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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BONN  
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